

‘Literature wherein is to be noted’: A Bibliographical and Historical Examination of *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c.* by Albrecht Meier and translated by Philip Jones

Anthony Payne

Literature wherein is to be noted . . . The facultie of imprinting, of what estimation, of what exactnes, and perfection: the number of Printers and Stationers, the names of the men of greatest learning and diligence in that qualitie . . . The common, or private libraries of any account, with the most auncient, and rare bookes there preserved.

– *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, tenth section

The present essay forms part of my ongoing bibliographical study of Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), the first instalment of which was published in 2024 by the Hakluyt Society as *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588* (third series, vol. 42). My methodology and conventions, together with a list of references given here in abbreviated form, are detailed in the introduction to that volume.

[**Albrecht Meier.**] *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c. Employed in Services Abrode, or Anie Way Occasioned to Converse in the Kingdomes, and Governementes of Forren Princes.* London: John Wolfe, 1589.

First (and only) edition in English. Dedicated to Sir Francis Drake by Richard Hakluyt’s associate, the translator, Philip Jones, at Hakluyt’s prompting.

Bibliographical citations

Ames/Herbert, p. 1175;¹ Cockle 44;² Cox, vol. 2, p. 320;³ Hazlitt, pp. 305–6 (under Jones);⁴ Huffman, pp. 37, 143;⁵ Johnson, p. 314;⁶ Lowndes, vol. 2, p. 1227 (under Jones); Parker, pp.

¹ Joseph Ames and William Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: Or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland: Containing Memoirs of Our Ancient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC. Begun by the Late Joseph Ames . . . Considerably Augmented, Both in the Memoirs and Number of Books, by William Herbert*, vol. 2 (London: T. Payne [and others], 1786). Not in Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England: with Some Memoirs of Our Antient Printers, and a Register of Books Printed by Them, from the Year MCCCCLXXI to the Year MDC* (London: W. Faden and J. Robinson, 1749).

² Maurice J. D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of Contemporary Foreign Works*, ed. H. D. Cockle (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900).

³ Edward Godfrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, vol. 2 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1938).

⁴ W. Carew Hazlitt, *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, from the Invention of Printing to the Restoration* (London: John Russell Smith, 1867).

⁵ Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).

⁶ Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937).

120, 140–1; 252; Parks, pp. 120, 264; Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 40, 302, vol. 2, p. 538; Stagl, p. 72;⁷ STC 17784; Watt, vol. 2, 553*p* (under Jones), 978*h* (under Wolf); Zeeberg, p. 165.⁸

Transcript of title-page

Certaine briefe, and | speciall Instructions for Gen- | tlemen, merchants, students, fouldiers, | *marriners, &c. Employed in seruices* | abroad, or anie way occasioned to | conuerse in the kingdomes, and | gouernementes of | forren Princes. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by Iohn Wolfe, | 1589.

168 x 92 mm. Device: 80 x 63 mm, a fleur-de-lis with motto ‘VBIQVE FLORET.’, block signed ‘G. B.’ McKerrow 242.⁹

Collation

Quarto. 32 leaves.

Signatures: A–D⁴.

Pagination: [8], [1–3], 4–21, [22–4].

Type and decoration

Text, 39 lines, 152 x 92 mm, in roman, each chapter or ‘section’ consisting of a series of numbered paragraphs, the headings in italic after the first line; dedication in italic; verses in roman or italic; Latin passage (D3^v) in italic. Ornamental initials. Ornaments at head of dedication (A2^r), head of dedicatory verse to Drake (A4r), head of each of the two commendatory verses (A4^v), head of contents list (B1^r), then at head of each of the twelve sections, head of the opinion of Ortelius (D3^v), and above and below Jones’s verse to the reader (D4^r).¹⁰ There are no illustrations.

Contents

A1^r title; A1^v blank; A2^r–3^v translator’s dedication: A2^r ‘To the most valiant, and renowned Knight, | *Sir Francis Drake, the ornament of his Country,* | the terror of the enimie, the Achilles of this age, | *P. I.* wilheth, in al honorable actions, the | continuance of Gods former blefings, and | in his nowe pretended seruice | the best successe.’, A3^v ‘At your deuotion and seruice, | *Philip Iones.*’; A4^r dedicatory verse: ‘*Ad eundem clarifissimum, & fortunatissimum*

⁷ Justin Stagl, with Klaus Orda and Christel Kämpfer, *Apodemiken: Eine räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, [1983]).

⁸ Peter Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau: A Bibliography* (Copenhagen: Society for Danish Language and Literature, C. A. Reitzel, 2004).

⁹ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers’ & Publishers’ Devices in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), who notes (p. xxix) that this was copied by John Wolfe from the fleur-de-lis device used by the Giunta family of printers at Florence (and elsewhere), perhaps reflecting Wolfe’s time there c.1576. The possibility that Wolfe was connected for a while with the Giunti (‘who sometimes employed foreigners’) was raised by A. Gerber, ‘All of the Five Fictitious Italian Editions of Writings of Machiavelli and Three of Those of Pietro Aretino Printed by John Wolfe of London (1584–1589). II’, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 22, no. 5 (May 1907), p. 131, but, although it is certain that he worked in Florence sometime in the mid-1570s, there is little substantial documentation of this period in Wolfe’s career. Gustavo Bertoli, ‘Nuovi documenti sull’attività di John Wolf a Firenze (1576–1577), con alcune considerazioni sul fenomeno delle stampe popolari’, *Archivio storico italiano*, vol. 153, no. 3 (July–September 1995), pp. 577–89; Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 123–4, 192 (n.6); D. E. Rhodes, ‘John Wolf in Florence’, *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3/4 (Spring 1969), pp. 103–5; Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 185–7.

¹⁰ For details and illustrations of the printer John Wolfe’s various initials and ornaments, see Harry R. Hoppe, ‘John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579–1601’, *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 14, no. 3 (December 1933), pp. 273–88.

Equi- | tem, D. Franciscus Dracum, eiusdem Philippi Iones, | de conscripto exercitu carmen confcendens.; A4^v two commendatory verses: ‘Ad P. I. huius opellæ μεταφράσιν T. H. | Medicinæ Doctoris Hexafticon.’, ‘Ad eundem M. B. Oxoniensis aliud | Hexafticon.’; B1^r list of contents: ‘The general sections, or places of this discourfe | are in number twelue . . . Viz.’; B1^v blank; B2^f–D3^f (pp. [3]–21) text: B2^f [p. 3] ‘The first Section. | *Cofmographie . . .*’, B2^v (p. 4) ‘The second Section. | *Astronomie . . .*’, B2^v–3^r (pp. 4–5) ‘The third Section. | *Geographie . . .*’, B3^{r-v} (pp. 5–6) ‘The fourth section. | *Chorographie . . .*’, B3^v–4^v (pp. 6–8) ‘The fifth section. | *Topographie . . .*’, B4^v–C2^f (pp. 8–11) ‘The sixth Section. | *Husbandrie . . .*’, C2^f–3^r (pp. 11–13) ‘The seventh Section. | *Nauigation . . .*’, C3^r–4^v (pp. 13–16) ‘The eighth Section. | *The politicall state . . .*’, C4^v–D1^r (pp. 16–17) ‘The ninth Section. | *The state Ecclesiastical . . .*’, D1^r–2^r (pp. 17–19) ‘The tenth Section. | *Literature . . .*’, D2^{r-v} (pp. 19–20) ‘The eleuenth Section. | *Histories . . .*’, D2^v–3^r (pp. 20–1) ‘The twelfth Section. | *Chronicles . . .*’; D3^v ‘The opinion of *Abrahamus Ortelius*, the notable | Geographer, concerning the vse of notes, and obser- | uations in trauell, written by himselfe in | his *Itinerarium Belgiae*’ (in Latin followed by an English translation), ‘*FINIS*’; D4^f Philip Jones’s verse to the reader: ‘Philippus Iones docto, & candido | Lectori Salutem.’; D4^v blank.

The translator’s dedication to Sir Francis Drake (A2^r–3^v) can be found in an amended state, with lines five and six of its heading (A2^r) reading ‘the continuance of Gods former blefsings, | and in his now intended seruice’, and with the date, ‘*London the 24. of Ianuarie, 1589.*’ added at the end of the text (A3^v).¹¹ Lowndes records the dedication to Drake, but also reports a ‘copy dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, in a recent bookseller’s catalogue’, which is probably Hazlitt’s source in saying, ‘in one extant copy there is a dedication to Sir W. Raleigh substituted’.¹² This is almost certainly erroneous and no further evidence has been found to substantiate the existence of such an alternative dedication.

Running titles

‘Epiftle’ (A2^v), ‘Dedicatorie.’ (A3^f, A3^v); ‘*Instructions*’ (B2^v, D1^v, D2^v only) or ‘*Instructions*’ (versos), ‘*for Trauellers.*’ (rectos) (B2^v–D3^r) (pp. 4–21).

Watermarks and paper

Difficult to discern in the copies examined, but possibly a hand or glove (BL 1103.e.7: B2 gutter) and a pot or flagon (BL 10002.c.36: C1, C4 gutters), which are some of the commonest types found in English books at this time. They were used by paper mills in various parts of France (especially northern), the principal source for paper in sixteenth-century England.¹³ Horizontal chain-lines, 25 mm apart.

Copies collated

British Library. 1103.e.7.¹⁴ 188 x 137 mm. Dedication in unamended state. British Museum accession date 12 July 1838.¹⁵ Bound in brown buckram by the British Museum, 1947 (stamp inside back cover).

¹¹ Paratext P1, below, prints the unamended state from BL 1103.e.7, with amendments as found in BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth Palace Library [ZZ]1589.17.01 (including a few in the text of the dedication itself) footnoted.

¹² Hazlitt, *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, pp. 305–6; Lowndes, vol. 2, p. 1227 (‘marked 4l. 4s.’).

¹³ Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 26–8; Edward Heawood, ‘Sources of Early English Paper-Supply: II. The Sixteenth Century’, *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 10, no. 4 (March 1930), pp. 436–8, 445–7, 454.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Books in English Printed Abroad, to the Year 1640*, vol. 2 (London: British Museum, 1884), p. 1088.

British Library. 10002.c.36.¹⁶ 183 x 135 mm. Dedication in amended state. Nineteenth-century green morocco-backed marbled boards. D4 bound after the title. Humphrey Dyson (d. 1633),¹⁷ with his signature ‘Hum. Dyson’ in fore-margin of title;¹⁸ Thomas Jolley,¹⁹ with his signature ‘Tho^s Jolley 1810’ on front free endpaper, sold Puttick & Simpson, June 1852,²⁰ to Pickering;²¹ British Museum accession date 5 January 1853 (stamped ‘5 JA. 53’ on D3^v).

Lambeth Palace Library. [ZZ]1589.17.01. 188 x 128 mm. Dedication in amended state. Bound with eight other items²² in early seventeenth-century calf, rebacked (mid-twentieth century). Archbishop Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), with his initials ‘R. B.’ divided by a centrepiece in gilt on both covers; bequeathed with his library in perpetuity to the archbishops of Canterbury (whose official London residence is Lambeth Palace).²³

¹⁵ This is pencilled in numerical form 38 (year) 7 (month) 12 (day) 384 (item number) on the verso of the title, as explained in Giles Mandelbrote and Barry Taylor, eds, *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library’s Printed Collections* (London: British Library, 2009), p. 420.

¹⁶ *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum . . . to the Year 1640*, vol. 2, p. 1088.

¹⁷ Dyson’s will directed that his ‘books be sold by William Jumper; a great many of them were acquired by Richard Smith (d. 1675) and were dispersed when his library was sold in 1682’. *ODNB*. The collector Thomas Baker (1656–1740), quoted by Frans Korsten, *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 24, noted, ‘There are Books (chiefly in old English) almost in every Library that have belong’d to H. Dyson, with his Name upon them’. For Dyson, a notary public, see also William A. Jackson, ‘Humphrey Dyson’s Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 43, no. 3 (third quarter, 1949), pp. 279–87; David Pearson, *Book Ownership in Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 271; R. L. Steele, ‘Humphrey Dyson’, *The Library*, third series, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1910), pp. 144–51. Dyson had another copy, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library (see Locations, below).

¹⁸ See the illustration of the title-page in Quinn, vol. 2, p. 539 (fig. 38). Written in the foot of the inner margin there are two (probably early nineteenth-century) references, ‘WH. p. 1175’ (i.e., Ames & Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities*, n.1 above) and ‘A.h. 302’.

¹⁹ ‘An Irish potato-factor, I believe. He was extraordinarily successful in finding rarities: he began to collect at least as early as 1809’. W. Carew Hazlitt, *A Roll of Honour: A Calendar of the Names of Over 17,000 Men and Women Who throughout the British Isles and in Our Early Colonies Have Collected MSS. and Printed Books from the XIVth to the XIXth Century* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1908), p. 124. A ‘forgotten collector’, whose books ‘nearly all bore his signature with the date of purchase’. Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), p. 107. See below, under Unlocated copies, for a second copy with Jolley’s ownership inscription.

²⁰ *Catalogue of the Sixth Portion of the Extensive Singularly Curious and Valuable Library of Thomas Jolley, Esq. F.S.A. . . . Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson . . . Piccadilly, on Tuesday, June 15th, 1852, and Four Following Days*, lot 1049 (19s), noting Dyson’s signature. This sale also included Jolley’s 1589 *Principall Navigations*, lot 500 (£10 10s, Young), with a lengthy description noting various bibliographical points and the 1590 ownership inscription of Robert Nicolson, a member of the Russia Company (this is now in the New York Public Library, *KC+ 1589 Hakluyt, copy 1). It was offered again, with a much shorter note, in *Catalogue of the Residue of the Valuable Library of the Late Thomas Jolley . . . Sold by Auction, by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & John Wilkinson . . . at . . . Wellington Street, Strand, on Tuesday, the 16th Day of January, 1855*, lot 211.

²¹ William Pickering (1796–1854), publisher and bookseller. *ODNB*. Pickering was the British Museum’s auction agent, so this copy was presumably obtained for the library by him at this sale. For the museum’s substantial purchases at previous Jolley sales, see P. R. Harris, *A History of the British Museum Library 1753–1973* (London: British Library, 1998), p. 140, noting also that Jolley is described in the London directories as ‘a fruit merchant of Farringdon Street’.

²² STC 15209, 18465, 20861, 18454, 18452, 11029, 18470, 691.

²³ ‘His collection of some 6065 volumes shows Bancroft to have been a lover of the classics – he owned copies of works by Seneca and Virgil, Aristotle, Homer, Horace, Martial, Ovid, Plato, Pliny, Plutarch, and Petronius among 531 volumes of *literae humaniores*. He also bequeathed 102 bibles, 294 volumes of patristic theology, and 659 volumes of biblical commentary, as well as 755 works of Catholic theology and of controversy. Patrick Young, who became keeper of the royal library in 1609 but had been acting keeper since 1597, complained a month after the archbishop’s death that Bancroft had at least 500 books from the royal collection, many of

Locations

Cambridge: Magdalene College, Pepys Library

1431(3).²⁴ Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), passed with his library to Magdalene in 1724.²⁵ Bound with twenty-five other travel-related pamphlets in one of Pepys's volumes of 'Consutilia'.²⁶

London: British Library

1103.e.7. See above, Copies collated.

10002.c.36. See above, Copies collated.

London: Lambeth Palace Library

[ZZ]1589.17.01. See above, Copies collated.

Winchester: Winchester College Fellows' Library

SR18 Bk6674. Bound with several other works in one volume. Alexander Thistlethwayte (?1718–71) (bookplate), his donation to Winchester, 1767.²⁷

California, San Marino: Huntington Library

62638.²⁸ Dedication in amended state. Lacks D4. Nineteenth-century red morocco by Mackenzie.²⁹ Henry Huth (1815–78),³⁰ Alfred H. Huth (1850–1910)³¹ (Huth

which have remained at Lambeth since. This suggests that Bancroft, like many serious bibliophiles, was often not too scrupulous about matters of ownership'. *ODNB*. See also James P. Carley, 'The Libraries of Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft', *Book Collector*, vol. 62, no. 2 (Summer 2013), pp. 209–27; Pearson, *Book Ownership in Stuart England*, p. 211; David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600–40', *The Library*, sixth series, vol. 14, no. 3 (September 1992), p. 235. Bancroft's library incorporated many printed books previously belonging to John Whitgift (d. 1604), his predecessor as archbishop of Canterbury.

²⁴ C. S. Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge. Supplementary Series Volume I: Census of Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 145; N. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge Volume I: Printed Books* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1978), pp. 35, 120.

²⁵ Secretary to the admiralty and diarist. *ODNB*; *DLB*, vol. 213, pp. 258–73; Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660–1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Pearson, *Book Ownership in Stuart England*, p. 211; F. Sidgwick, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys. Part II. – General Introduction (F. Sidgwick) and Early Printed Books to 1558 by E. Gordon Duff* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1914), pp. i–xix. Pepys's library went to his nephew, John Jackson, as a lifetime inheritance, passing to Magdalene after Jackson's death.

²⁶ Knighton, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, pp. ix, 145–7 (listing all the works bound in this volume).

²⁷ Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, eds, *The House of Commons 1754–1790*, vol. 3 (London: HMSO for the History of Parliament Trust, 1964), p. 521. Thistlethwayte made a substantial donation of books (mainly poetry) to Winchester in 1767. For this, and his book collecting, see Carly Emma Watson, 'The Legacy of an Eighteenth-Century Gentleman: Alexander Thistlethwayte's Books in Winchester College Fellows' Library' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013).

²⁸ This is the copy available on EEBO.

²⁹ London bookbinders. See Charles Ramsden, *London Bookbinders 1780–1840* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1956), pp. 101–2; Maurice Packer, *Bookbinders of Victorian London* (London: British Library, 1991), pp. 97–8.

³⁰ Merchant banker, working in the firm established by his father, Frederick Andrew Huth. *ODNB*.

³¹ Founder member and sometime president of the Bibliographical Society. Like his father, Henry Huth, Alfred Huth was a devoted bibliophile but he was not personally involved in the family banking business. *ODNB*.

Library bookplate),³² sold Sotheby's, July 1914, to George D. Smith;³³ Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927).³⁴

Connecticut, New Haven: Yale University, Beinecke Library

1987 133. Dedication in amended state. Catalogued as 'imperfect: some pages bled'. Dark red morocco (probably twentieth-century). Gift of the Yale Library Associates (bookplate) (c.1987).³⁵

Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library

STC 17784. Dedication in unamended state.³⁶ Early nineteenth-century sprinkled calf, with the ticket of Edward Parry, Bridge St Row, Chester.³⁷ Humphrey Dyson (d. 1633) (crossed out inscription on title-page);³⁸ the library at Gloddaeth (book-label), a Mostyn family seat in north Wales,³⁹ sold Sotheby's, April 1920, to Quaritch;⁴⁰ Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937).⁴¹

³² *The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings, Collected by Henry Huth*, vol. 3 (London: Ellis & White, 1880), p. 779. For the Huth library, see de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts*, pp. 149–54.

³³ *Catalogue of the Famous Library . . . Collected by Henry Huth, and Since Maintained and Augmented by His Son Alfred H. Huth, Fosbury Manor, Wiltshire. The Printed Books and Illuminated Manuscripts. Fourth Portion . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . Strand, W.C. On Tuesday, the 7th of July, 1914, and Three Following Days*, lot 4057 (£20 10s). Until his untimely death in 1920 George D. Smith was the chief bookdealer acting for Henry E. Huntington (n.34 below). Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Antiquarian Bookdealers* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), p. 205.

³⁴ Donald C. Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 171–3; *DLB*, vol. 140, pp. 98–106; Donald C. Dickinson, *Henry E. Huntington's Library of Libraries* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1995). Huntington, whose fortune derived from railroads, real estate and electrical utilities, transferred his library, art collections and estate at San Marino to a philanthropic trust in 1919, creating the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, opened to the public in 1928.

³⁵ With thanks to Moira Fitzgerald of the Beinecke for details of this copy.

³⁶ With thanks to Nigel Ramsay for reporting this and to Erika Giddens of the Folger for providing images.

³⁷ Born in Flintshire, Edward Parry (1798–1854) had a bookselling business in Chester and also published Welsh-related works. *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1959), p. 733.

³⁸ See Copies collated, above, BL 10002.c.36, for another copy formerly owned by Dyson.

³⁹ Sir Thomas Mostyn (1651–1700?) and Sir Thomas Mostyn (1704–58) are named as serious book collectors in the entry on the Mostyn family of Mostyn Hall in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*.

⁴⁰ *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, the Property of the Lord Mostyn, Mostyn Hall, Mostyn, Cheshire . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . New Bond Street, W.(1). On Friday, April 16th, 1920*, lot 125 ('RARE') (£50). At about this time R. L. Harmsworth (n.41 below) began to entrust his auction buying to Quaritch, developing a fruitful association that lasted until his death in 1937. Richard Linenthal, ed., *The Book Collector: Special Number for the 150th Anniversary of Bernard Quaritch 1997* (London: The Book Collector, 1997), pp. 43–4. Bernard Quaritch died in 1899, his son, Alfred Quaritch, in 1913, but the firm continued in family ownership until 1971. *ODNB*.

⁴¹ Cross-referenced under Jones, Philip, to Meirus, Albertus, in *A Short Title Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, Bart. to the Year 1640* (Bath: printed for private circulation, 1925), p. 177, but apparently overlooked in actually entering at that point. The Folger acquired approximately 10,500 titles from Harmsworth's collection, the majority soon after his death, others in the 1950s, transforming the library's essentially Shakespearean collection into one that embraced nearly all aspects of the English-speaking world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Stephen H. Grant, *Collecting Shakespeare: The Story of Emily and Henry Folger* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), pp. 190–1; Louis B. Wright, 'The Harmsworth Collection and the Folger Library', *Book Collector*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 1957), pp. 123–8. The rest of Harmsworth's considerable library was sold in a series of sales at Sotheby's, 1939–54. Robert Leicester Harmsworth, newspaper owner, Liberal politician and a genuine collector, was a younger brother of Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe, and a director of Amalgamated Press, the Harmsworth publishing empire, until 1906. Paul Ferris, *The House of Northcliffe: The Harmsworths of Fleet Street* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), pp. 4, 90–1, 117, 133, 180, 286.

STC records the copy formerly in the collection of Boies Penrose (1902–76).⁴² This was sold in London at Sotheby’s in 1971, catalogued as ‘first two leaves defective, with loss of about half of the upper part of the title page and part of several lines of the dedication’, disbound, and giving its provenance as the Lothian sale (1932).⁴³ It was sold with a similar catalogue description in 1972, again at Sotheby’s in London, to Solomon Pottesman (1904–78),⁴⁴ but was not included in his auction at Sotheby’s in 1979,⁴⁵ nor in a further sale of his books in 1981,⁴⁶ and its current whereabouts are unknown. Noted by the two Sotheby catalogues, but without comment, was the contemporary signature ‘Wm. Byrde’ on the title-page. This has now been established as that of the composer, William Byrd (d. 1623),⁴⁷ and is among a handful of books to have been identified as coming from his library.⁴⁸

Also currently unlocated is a second copy with the ownership inscription of Thomas Jolley (see above, Copies collated, BL 10002.c.36, for his other copy), which was handled by the London bookseller Andrew Hunter in October 2008. It was bound in old vellum-backed boards (nineteenth-century, but perhaps using earlier materials), and D4 was lacking but supplied in facsimile.⁴⁹

Although now untraced, but indicative of the antiquarian market’s appreciation of the book’s scarcity, and deserving, therefore, in this instance a high quality binding, is the ‘very fine copy’ offered in 1829 in Harding & Lepard’s *Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Books* as ‘extremely rare’, which was in ‘green morocco, by Lewis’, one of the leading bookbinders of the day, and priced at £3 13s 6d.⁵⁰

Authorship and Sources

Authorship is not given on the title-page of *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c.*, but in his dedication, Philip Jones, the translator (likewise unnamed on the title-page), states it ‘was composed by one M. Albertus Meier, at the command, direction, and charge of the honorable Henry Ranzou, now

⁴² Scholar and collector, author of *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420–1620* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952). Dickinson, *Dictionary of American Book Collectors*, pp. 256–7; Boies Penrose, ‘Contemporary Collectors XXVIII: The Library at Barbados Hill, Devon, Pennsylvania’, *Book Collector*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1961), pp. 301–10; Nicholas B. Wainwright, ‘Boies Penrose, 1902–1976’, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 100, no. 3 (July 1976), pp. 390–4.

⁴³ *The Celebrated Library of Boies Penrose . . . Removed from Barbados Hill, Devon, Pennsylvania. The Second Portion: Travel & Exploration, Navigation & Trade M–Z . . . Sold by Auction by Sotheby & Co. [London] . . . 9th November, 1971, lot 162 (£40, Peter Fox); Illuminated Manuscripts Incunabula and Americana from the Famous Libraries of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian . . . Removed from Blickling Hall, Norfolk and Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian . . . Sale January 27 and 28, 1932 . . . American Art Association Andersen Galleries . . . New York, lot 99.*

⁴⁴ *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books . . . Sotheby & Co. . . . 23rd . . . 24th October, 1972, lot 176 (£18).* For Pottesman, see Alan G. Thomas, ‘Solomon Pottesman’, *Book Collector*, vol. 28, no. 4 (Winter 1979), pp. 545–53.

⁴⁵ *Catalogue of Valuable Incunabula and Sixteenth-Century Printed Books: The Property of Mr. S. Pottesman, Deceased, Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. . . . London . . . 15th . . . 16th October, 1979.*

⁴⁶ *Catalogue of Printed Books [the Property of the Late Solomon Pottesman and Other Properties] . . . Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. . . . London . . . 16th . . . 17th March 1981.*

⁴⁷ ODNB.

⁴⁸ Kerry McCarthy and John Harley, ‘From the Library of William Byrd’, *Musical Times*, vol. 150, no. 1909 (Winter 2009), p. 25; Kerry McCarthy and John Harley, ‘More Books from the Library of William Byrd’, *Musical Times*, vol. 153, no. 1918 (Spring 2012), pp. 54, 60. (McCarthy and Harley do not mention the 1971 Penrose sale.)

⁴⁹ With thanks to Andrew Hunter for notifying this copy.

⁵⁰ *A Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Books in Various Languages, on Sale by Harding and Lepard, 4, Pall Mall East, London. MDCCCXXIX, item 4646.* For Charles Lewis (1786–1836) and his workshop, see ODNB.

lord of *Bredenberge*' (A2^r),⁵¹ that is Albrecht Meier (Albertus Meierus) (1528–1603), a clergyman resident in Lindholm (north Frisia), and Heinrich Rantzau (1526–1598/9), the Danish monarch's governor of Schleswig-Holstein, who was ultimately responsible for the work.⁵² Rantzau's association is prominently indicated on the title-page of both editions that had appeared prior to Jones's translation, the first, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes & arces, & quid singulis locis praecipuè in peregrinationibus homines nobiles ac docti animadvertere, observare & annotare debeant. Amplissimi ac nobilis viri dn. Henrici Ranzovii, regis Daniae in ducatus Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae ac Dithmarsiae vicarii & consilarii, d[omi]ni in Bredenberg &c. iussu, auspicio atq[ue] impensis attentè diligenterque confecta, nunc primùm in lucem edita*, published in 1587, which includes an engraved portrait of Rantzau on the verso of the title,⁵³ the second, slightly expanded and revised, in 1588, *Methodus apodemica, seu peregrinandi, perlustrandi[ue] regiones, urbes & arces ratio: ampliss. et nobilis. viri, dn: Henrici Ranzovii, regis Daniae in ducatus Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae ac Dithmarsiae vicarii & consilarii, domini in Bredenberg, &c. auspiciis edita*, with a woodcut of Rantzau's arms on the verso of the title.⁵⁴

David Scott Gehring suggests the possibility that Daniel Rogers, who headed a diplomatic mission to Denmark in 1588, brought a copy of Meier's *Methodus* back home to England, where it was introduced to Philip Jones for translating.⁵⁵ Following the death of Frederik II in April 1588 Rogers had been despatched to Denmark with instructions to offer the Queen's official condolences to the regency, to discuss commercial matters and to sound out potential support for an international Protestant league against Spain.⁵⁶ Rantzau, a central figure in the Danish government, especially its international relations,⁵⁷ would have become familiar with him during these negotiations (and previously, Rogers having headed a mission to Denmark in 1587).⁵⁸ Circumstantially, therefore, it can be said that Rantzau had ample opportunity to give a copy of Meier's work to Rogers, who may indeed have had it to hand in

⁵¹ 'Ranzou' is as amended in, e.g., BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth, but it can read 'Kanzon', as in, e.g., BL 1103.e.7. See n.126 below.

⁵² Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550–1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), pp. 126–8, in the revised version, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier: Die Kunst des Reisens 1550–1800* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), pp. 164–6. For Rantzau's life and literary activities, see Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, pp. 9–60.

⁵³ Albrecht Meier, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes & arces, & quid singulis locis praecipuè in peregrinationibus homines nobiles ac docti animadvertere, observare & annotare debeant. Amplissimi ac nobilis viri dn. Henrici Ranzovii, regis Daniae in ducatus Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae ac Dithmarsiae vicarii & consilarii, d[omi]ni in Bredenberg &c. iussu, auspicio atq[ue] impensis attentè diligenterque confecta, nunc primùm in lucem edita: per m. Albertum Meierum Strandt Phrisium Pilwormensem, residentem Lindtholmi, Rhisemorhae, sitae in Isthmo, seu Cimbricae Chersonesi inferioris angustis, anno à nato Christo 1587* (Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius, 1587).

⁵⁴ Albrecht Meier, *Methodus apodemica, seu peregrinandi, perlustrandi[ue] regiones, urbes & arces ratio: ampliss. et nobilis. viri, dn: Henrici Ranzovii, regis Daniae in ducatus Slesvici, Holsatiae, Stormariae ac Dithmarsiae vicarii & consilarii, domini in Bredenberg, &c. auspiciis edita per m. Albertum Meierum Strandt Phrisium Pilwormensem* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1588).

⁵⁵ David Scott Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark during the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI: Three Treatises* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2016), pp. 29–30.

⁵⁶ David Scott Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause: Elizabethan Foreign Policy and Pan-Protestantism* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), pp. 123–4; Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, p. 16; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 300, 309–11.

⁵⁷ Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, p. 144 (n.191).

⁵⁸ Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), p. 29; Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause*, pp. 120–1; Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, p. 111 (n.3); Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause*, pp. 286–8.

September 1588 when drawing up his report on the state of Denmark.⁵⁹ Gehring's suggestion is strengthened when it is noted that Rantzau had the 1587 edition (of 500 copies) printed for his personal use only, not for sale, and that he encouraged publication of the second edition, because he needed additional copies (he bought fifty) and to meet general commercial demand.⁶⁰ Lastly, in considering the role of Daniel Rogers in the English edition of Meyer's book, it can be remarked that he was a kinsman of the geographer Abraham Ortelius, and both Rogers and Ortelius were known to Hakluyt and his elder cousin, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer.⁶¹ This could perhaps explain the addition of 'The opinion of *Abrahamus Ortelius*' (D3^v) (paratext P6 below) to Jones's translation.

Besides adding 'The opinion of *Abrahamus Ortelius*', Philip Jones expanded or rearranged the original work at various points in his translation, but he maintained its overall structure with its division into twelve sections on general themes (see paratext P5 below), in each of which a series of numbered specific topics that a methodical traveller should investigate or record are listed. Such revision as he made was not radical, and the general plan of the work is recognisably that of the original, but he did introduce a number of new topics and expand, re-arrange or amend others (such changes are sufficient to make it difficult to say with any certainty which Latin edition Jones might have used in his translation). Jones's additions or expansions of points not found in either of the Latin editions were probably deemed by him to be of particular interest to an English audience, or at least the preoccupations of his circle, including its concerns with oceanic ventures and colonial projects.⁶² His third section, on 'Geographie' (pp. 4–5; B2^v–3^r), comprises fourteen topics, as opposed to only six in both Latin editions,⁶³ while in the fourth section, on 'Chorographie' (pp. 5–6; B3^{r-v}), the number of separate topics is increased from eleven and twelve respectively in the two Latin editions,⁶⁴ to twenty, including '14 The Colonies, or

⁵⁹ 'A discourse touching y^e present estate and gouvernement of the kingdomes of Danmarke and Norwegen' (San Marino, Huntington Library Ellesmere MS 1608), discussed and printed in Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, pp. 17–18, 30, 44, 111–49. See also David Scott Gehring, 'Intelligence Gathering, *Relazioni*, and the *Ars Apodemica*', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2022), pp. 219–24.

⁶⁰ Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, pp. 39–41.

⁶¹ For Ortelius (1527–98), and Rogers (c.1538–91), see *ODNB*. For their relationship, see also J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden: The University Press for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1962), pp. 19–22; Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, pp. 16–17, 112 (n.7). For the Ortelius-Rogers-Hakluyt family connections, see Quinn, vol. 1, pp. 269–71 (referring to the verses addressed to Hakluyt by Rogers in his manuscript volume of Latin poems, San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 31188); Emily Stevenson, 'Captaining Men's Souls: Richard Hakluyt's Ministerial Works', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1 (February 2023), p. 94 (suggesting that the John Rogers, who recorded a sermon and a theological lecture given by Hakluyt at Oxford in the early 1580s, was probably a nephew of Daniel Rogers); Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 6–7, 12, 77–83. In his *Discourse of Western Planting*, Hakluyt refers to meeting Ortelius on the latter's visit to England in 1577. Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 76. For Ortelius's English network, see also Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 24–7 (but, oddly, omitting to mention the Hakluyts).

⁶² For a discussion that places Jones's translation firmly in the context of Hakluyt's circle and its interests in obtaining and marshalling information, see David Rollison, *A Commonwealth of the People: Popular Politics and England's Long Social Revolution, 1066–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 384–96. For another consideration of information gathering at the time, see Daniel Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions: The Principal Navigations and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice', *Studies in Travel Writing*, vol. 13, no. 2 (June 2009), pp. 167–85. Although Meyer makes no explicit references to journeys beyond Europe in his *Methodus*, other compilers of travel advice did, and all such advice might inform travel to more distant destinations. See Daniel Carey, *Continental Travel and Journeys beyond Europe in the Early Modern Period: An Overlooked Connection* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2009), pp. 11–20.

⁶³ Meier, *Methodus describendi*, A2^v–3^r, *Methodus apodemica*, A5^v–6^r.

⁶⁴ Meier, *Methodus describendi*, A3^r–4^r, *Methodus apodemica*, A6^v–8^v.

places where people are sent, and conducted to plant, and dwell' (p. 6; B3^v). Jones's seventh section, on 'Navigation' (pp. 11–13; C2^r–3^r), is likewise greatly expanded, listing thirty topics, as opposed to only twenty in the two Latin editions,⁶⁵ for example, under topic '10 Streights' (p. 12; C2^v)⁶⁶ adding Gibraltar and Magellan's Strait as instances (both being of great interest to the English as entrances to regions they wished to access),⁶⁷ while among the new topics is '24 Whether the people, and nation hath made or doo intende any long voyages, or discoveries: to what places, and what number of shippes and men they carrie, and what commodities are brought from such places' (p. 12; C2^v), which displays a need to be alert to the plans and capacities of potential colonial rivals. In the eighth section, on 'The politicall state' (pp. 13–16; C3^r–4^v), comprising twenty-four topics, as opposed to fifteen and twenty-two respectively in the Latin editions,⁶⁸ a new topic, '21 How the king or prince is allyed with his neighbour Princes, and who are his confederates, and who not' (p. 15; D4^r), is introduced, reflecting perhaps the diplomatic concerns of Daniel Rogers during his embassy to Denmark in 1588.⁶⁹ The additions in Jones's tenth section, 'Literature' (pp. 17–19; D1^r–2^r),⁷⁰ indicate Jones's recognition that besides its political benefits, travel also presented great opportunities to learn about the antiquities, history and literature of the places visited.⁷¹

Jones includes a list of the work's twelve 'general sections' (B1^r) (paratext P5 below), providing an exact indication of its contents and organisation, and includes some side-notes (but only until p. 7; B4^r), which are useful features not found in the Latin editions. The Latin editions contain no explanatory prefatory material, but in his dedication, Jones took the opportunity to stress the value of constructive, responsible travel, focussed on methodical, informed observation along the lines laid out in *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* ('this pamphlet of notes' as he called it), instancing a young man he had heard of, who journeyed abroad,

but without instructions, and upon his returne, he made report that he had seene men, women, wals, houses, woods, and medowes, but of the state, manners, lawes, gouvernement and natures of the people, his simple wit could make no reasonable answe I doubt not, but that if our men will vouchsafe the reading, portage, and practise of this pamphlet of notes . . . the thicke mistes of ignorance, and harde conception will soone be scattered, and the same converted into a quicke sight, and illumination of the senses, so that the traveller (although in that course a Novice) after his ranginges and peregrinations, shall retyre him selfe a man of skill . . . [A3^r].⁷²

⁶⁵ Meier, *Methodus describendi*, A7^v–8^r, *Methodus apodemica*, C2^v–3^v.

⁶⁶ '10 Streights, & narrow seas, as Gibraltar, & the straights of Magellan' (in BL 1103.e.7; '10 Streights, & narrow seas, as Gibaltar, and the straights of Magellan' in BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth). Cf. Meier, *Methodus describendi*, 'Fretum (ein enge stoff stroem.) 16.' (A8^r), *Methodus apodemica*, '16. Fretum, ein enge steiff strom.' (C3^r).

⁶⁷ See, e.g., Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 97, 160–1.

⁶⁸ Meier, *Methodus describendi*, A8^r–^v, *Methodus apodemica*, C4^r–6^v.

⁶⁹ Gehring, 'Intelligence Gathering, *Relazioni*, and the *Ars Apodemica*', p. 224.

⁷⁰ This is preceded by 'The state Ecclesiasticall' as the ninth section (with seventeen topics) (pp. 16–17; C4^v–D1^r), whereas in the Latin editions the literature section, 'Scholastica', is the ninth section (with eighteen topics in both editions, *Methodus describendi*, B1^r–2^r, *Methodus apodemica*, C7^r–D2^r), and 'Ecclesiastica' is the tenth section (with thirteen topics in *Methodus describendi*, B2^r–^v, sixteen in *Methodus apodemica*, D2^v–4^r).

⁷¹ Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 147–8.

⁷² For further discussion, see Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 218–20.

Little is known of Philip Jones, the translator, but he evidently moved in Hakluyt's circle, and it was at Hakluyt's suggestion that he dedicated his translation to Sir Francis Drake (see under Dedicatee, below). D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton have conjectured that he 'may have played a part of some significance in the project' to publish the *Principall Navigations* in 1589, which, besides commendatory verses by Jones, included one item almost certainly written by him, another possibly attributable to him, as well as perhaps other material collected by him but not explicitly acknowledged.⁷³ Younger than Hakluyt, he is usually identified as the Philip Jones of Bristol, recorded as matriculating at Christ Church, Oxford, in November 1581, aged eighteen, obtaining his BA in March 1583,⁷⁴ and resident, therefore, when Hakluyt was a senior member of the college and teaching there.⁷⁵ He is presumably the 'M. Philip Iones' to whom, with 'all the rest of our friends', John Newbery asked Hakluyt to make his 'heartie commendations' in a letter from Aleppo, 28 May 1583.⁷⁶ It has also been supposed that the translator of *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* was the Philip Jones of Cirencester responsible for *Certaine Sermons Preached of Late at Ciceter . . . By Philip Iones, Preacher of the Word of God in the Same Towne*, published in 1588,⁷⁷ but this identification rests solely on the name Philip Jones being common to both publications and cannot otherwise be established.⁷⁸ It does, in fact, seem highly improbable because the Philip Jones of Bristol and Christ Church fits neatly into Hakluyt's known milieu and, moreover, he was a BA, whereas the Cirencester Jones was not a graduate (he was besides rather irksome to the ecclesiastical authorities).⁷⁹

Justin Stagl has addressed the question of whether guides to methodical travel such as Meier's and numerous other works in this genre published between c.1570 and c.1800 had any effect on actual travelling in this period, arguing that it is unlikely that so many would have been produced if travellers were completely uninterested in them, and, if not followed in every respect, they were like 'other works of instruction, e.g. cookbooks or books on etiquette, which were usually consulted in special cases rather than followed throughout', and

⁷³ Quinn & Skelton, p. xviii. See PN, *5^r ('Philippi Ionesii Epigramma', 'Eiusdem distichon') (not repeated in PNI), p. 227 (T6ⁱ) ('A true report of a worthe fight . . . by five ships of London, against . . . frigats of the King of Spaine, at Pantalarea . . . 1586. Written by Philip Iones') (repeated in PN2, p. 285, first pagination; Aa5^f), and p. 419 (Pp5^f) ('The first voyage into Persia by M. Thomas Banister, and M. Iefrey Ducket Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionell Plumtree') (repeated in PNI, p. 394; Kk5^v). The 'true report' is possibly related to the printed but now lost 'Newes from Turkey A true report in verse of a Seafight in the Straights by 5 shippes of London against 11 Gallies & 2 frigatt^{es} of the King of Spaine 1586 in quarto' listed in Humphrey Dyson's manuscript catalogue of part of his collection. Jackson, 'Humphrey Dyson's Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books', p. 285 (quoting from Dyson's 'Catalogue of all such books touching as well the state ecclesiastical as temporall of the realm of England', Oxford, All Souls College MS 117, p. 228). See n.17 above for Dyson.

⁷⁴ Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, vol. 2 (Oxford: James Parker, 1891), p. 826; Quinn & Skelton, p. xviii (n.2).

⁷⁵ See Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2024), pp. 152–7.

⁷⁶ Printed in PN, p. 208 (S2^v); Taylor, vol. 1, pp. 197–8 (doc. 39, from PN2, pp. 245–6, first pagination; X3^{r-v}).

⁷⁷ Philip Jones, *Certaine Sermons Preached of Late at Ciceter, in the Countie of Glocester, upon a Portion of the First Chapter of the Epistle of Iames: Wherein the Two Several States, of the Riche and Poore Man Are Compared and Examined . . . By Philip Iones, Preacher of the Word of God in the Same Towne* (London: T. D[awson] for Thomas Butter, 1588).

⁷⁸ Roland Austin, 'Philip Jones, of Cirencester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 44 (1922), pp. 147–8, 152. The supposition is made by, e.g., Lowndes, STC (14728), and Watt.

⁷⁹ Austin, 'Philip Jones, of Cirencester', p. 150. For this Philip Jones, see further, David Rollison, *Commune, Country and Commonwealth: The People of Cirencester, 1117–1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 114 ('a fiery, class-obsessed preacher'), 138–48.

he adds several instances of their utilisation.⁸⁰ Stagl and other scholars have indicated the influence of Ramist principles concerning the organisation and unification of knowledge in the formulation of these guides.⁸¹ In England, the Cambridge academic Gabriel Harvey, a devotee of Ramism, considered *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* to be an ‘excellent Tract’.⁸² Although there is no indication that Hakluyt was similarly enthused by Ramism (which is generally thought to have been less influential at Oxford, his university, than at Cambridge),⁸³ he, like others, held Ramus as an individual in high regard.⁸⁴ Especially

⁸⁰ Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, p. 90, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier*, pp. 116–17. Stagl repeats this point in his ‘Ars apodemica and Socio-Cultural Research’, in *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550–1700*, ed. Karl A. E. Enekel and Jan L. de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2019), p. 17.

⁸¹ See, e.g., E. C. de L. A. A. Brander, ‘Ars apodemica: Albert Meier og kunsten at rejse i Renæssancen’, *Fund og forskning*, vol. 45 (2006), pp. 27–9, 33; Daniel Carey, ‘Advice on the Art of Travel’, in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 400; Daniel Carey, ‘Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel’, in *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569–1750*, ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 37–8; Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England*, p. 219; Mark Netzloff, *Agents beyond the State: The Writings of English Travelers, Soldiers, and Diplomats in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 48–9; Nicholas Popper, ‘The English Polydaedali: How Gabriel Harvey Read Late Tudor London’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 66, no. 3 (July 2005), pp. 362–4, pp. 127–8 as reprinted in *Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading: Essays by Lisa Jardine and Others*, ed. Anthony Grafton, Nicholas Popper and William Sherman (London: UCL Press, 2024); Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, pp. 68–71, 107–9, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier*, pp. 84–9, 91–5, 136–9; Vine, *In Defiance of Time*, p. 146; Elizabeth R. Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy and Epistolary Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 60–1. See also Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See’, *History and Anthropology*, vol. 9, nos 2–3 (1996), pp. 142–7.

⁸² G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), p. 173. The reference is among Harvey’s annotations in his copy of *The Traveiler of Ierome Turler . . . Containing a Notable Discourse of the Maner, and Order of Traveling Oversea, or into Straunge and Forreйн Countreys* (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575) (given to Harvey by Edmund Spenser, this is now in the Rosenbach Museum & Library, Philadelphia, EL1.A2e). For Harvey and Ramism, see Lisa Jardine, ‘Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and Pragmatic Humanist’, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, vol. 70, no. 1 (January 1986), pp. 36–48 (reprinted in *Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading*, ed. Grafton, Popper & Sherman, pp. 77–93). For Petrus Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée) (1515–72) and Ramism generally, see Mordechai Feingold, ‘English Ramism: A Reinterpretation’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, ed. Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman and Wolfgang Rother (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), pp. 127–76; Wilbur Samuel Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 146–81; Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory: A Short-Title Inventory of the Published Works of Peter Ramus (1515–1572) and of Omer Talon (ca. 1510–1562) in Their Original and in Their Various Altered Forms with Related Material: 1. The Ramist Controversies: A Descriptive Catalogue. 2. Agricola Check List: A Short-Title Inventory of Some Printed Editions and Printed Compendia of Rudolph Agricola’s Dialectical Invention (De inventione dialectica)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); James Veazie Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the End of the Renaissance* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2002). For a critique of aspects of Ong’s *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, see Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1543–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 9–15, and for various subsequent discussions of Ramus, see Simon J. G. Burton, *Ramism and the Reformation of Method: The Franciscan Legacy in Early Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2024); Steven J. Reid and Emma Annette Wilson, eds, *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Emma Annette Wilson and Sarah Knight, eds, *The European Contexts of Ramism* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

⁸³ Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-industrial Britain 1500–1700* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970), pp. 63–4; James McConica, ‘Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford’, *English Historical Review*, vol. 94, no. 371 (April 1979), pp. 301–2; Marco Sgarbi, *The Aristotelian Tradition and the Rise of British Empiricism: Logic and Epistemology in the British Isles (1570–1689)* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013), pp. 35–42. The earlier study, Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558–1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 252–3, argued that Ramist ideas were widely held at both universities, not just Cambridge.

admired by Hakluyt was the public spirit of Ramus in providing for the endowment of a mathematical lectureship in Paris in his will, a copy of which, ‘newly put out agayne in printe’, had been sent to Hakluyt by Nicolas Bergeron, one of Ramus’s executors, and which Hakluyt forwarded to Sir Francis Walsingham from Paris in April 1584, along with a despatch including the strong recommendation that a navigational lectureship be established in England.⁸⁵

Gabriel Harvey’s reference provides an instance of contemporary awareness of *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, but, while modern bibliographical and secondary references to the book are ample, its early circulation and reception are otherwise difficult to document. Few copies survive today (see under Locations above, recording eight positively located, and three currently untraced), and the two Latin editions survive in similarly small numbers,⁸⁶ but small, pamphlet-like books such as this are more prone to damage or loss, especially if much used and perhaps discarded when worn out or no longer required, than bulkier, large format and expensive publications (such as Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* in folio, extant today in several hundred copies).⁸⁷

Printer

Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions was entered into the Stationers’ Register on 20 January 1589 to John Wolfe under the hands of Dr Thomas Stallard, a senior member of Archbishop John Whitgift’s panel of ecclesiastical licensers, and Henry Denham, under warden of the Stationers’ Company.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Regardless of intellectual differences, Ramus’s death in the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre made him a sympathetic figure in the eyes of Protestant scholars in the 1570s and 1580s. Feingold, ‘English Ramism’, pp. 138–9, 142–3, 173–4.

⁸⁵ Taylor, vol. 1, p. 208 (doc. 45) (TNA SP 12/170/1; State Papers Online, document ref. no. SP 12/170, f.2). Ramus’s will had been printed as *Testamentum Petri Rami cum senatus consulto & promulgatione professionis institutæ ab ipso testatore* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1576), and subsequently as *Testamentum Petri Rami cum primo senatus-consulto & promulgatione professionis mathematicæ à testatore ipso institutæ* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1584), which is presumably the edition sent to Hakluyt by Bergeron (both of these printings include a portrait of Ramus with a verse by Bergeron below; that of 1584 includes an address to the reader by Bergeron). The terms of Ramus’s will had not been properly honoured, hence its printing and Bergeron’s public campaign to rectify matters. [Nicolas Bergeron], *Commendatio professionis mathematicæ à Petro Ramo institutæ; in gratiam academæ Parisiensis. Cum interpretatione Francica* (Paris: Jean Borel, 1580); Robert Goulding, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance Rediscovery of Mathematical History* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), pp. 180–2; Grégoire Holtz, *L’ombre de l’auteur: Pierre Bergeron et l’écriture du voyage à la fin de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2011), pp. 65–7; Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, pp. 384–8.

⁸⁶ Indicated by USTC (March 2026), which, although not exhaustive, gives thirteen locations for *Methodus describendi* (1587, printed in 500 copies as referenced above, n.60), and nine for *Methodus apodemica* (1588).

⁸⁷ See Oliver M. Willard, ‘The Survival of English Books Printed before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations’, *The Library*, fourth series, vol. 23, no. 4 (March 1943), pp. 172–3, 175. My new censuses, currently in progress, of the *Principal Navigations* record more than 130 copies of the original edition (1589) and more than 300 of the second (1598/9–1600).

⁸⁸ Arber, vol. 2, p. 514; W. W. Greg, *Licensers for the Press, &c. to 1640: A Biographical Index Based Mainly on Arber’s Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962), pp. 2, 86–7 (Stallard); *ODNB* (Denham). Following the Star Chamber decrees of 1586 for ‘orders in printing’, Whitgift personally assumed full authority over the ecclesiastical authorisation of printing (not in itself a new measure), and, to make the process more efficient, created a panel of official authorisers to regularly examine works submitted for the necessary permission prior to printing. For this, and the system of official (government) authorisation to print (entrusted principally to the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London), the Stationers’ licence permitting a manuscript to be printed, and entrance into the Stationers’ Register, see Peter W. M. Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 396–405, 419 (nn.26, 29); Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 15–19, 36–40, 57–63. At the head of the Stationers’ Company were the master, the upper

A prolific and commercially aggressive producer of a wide variety of books, John Wolfe (c.1548–1601) was a former apprentice of the leading printer John Day, but he entered the Fishmongers' rather than the Stationers' Company, with which he was often engaged in bitter confrontations; transferring to the Stationers' Company in 1583, he served as the company's beadle from 1587 until 1598, a position in which he proved himself adept at hunting down illicit printing and enforcing the Stationers' privileges.⁸⁹ From 1588 until 1591 Wolfe conducted his printing operations in Stationers' Hall itself (the use of space there seems to have been one of his emoluments as beadle), and over these years, his most active time as a printer, Wolfe's output is calculated by Harry Hoppe as averaging thirty books annually.⁹⁰ In the course of 1589, when he printed *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, he was involved in more than forty publications.⁹¹

Besides *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* Wolfe published several books with which Hakluyt was connected,⁹² but none of Hakluyt's own works. It is only in Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages* (1598) that Wolfe himself acknowledges Hakluyt's role, yet only somewhat obliquely, in saying, 'About a Twelvemonth agoe, a learned Gentleman brought unto mee the Voyages and Navigation of *John Huyghen van Linschoten* . . . in the Dutche Tongue, which he wished might be translated into our Language', and it is the translator, William Phillip, not Wolfe, who actually names Hakluyt as recommending the book to the printer for translation ('Which *Booke* being commended, by Maister *Richard Hackluyt*, a man that laboureth greatly to advance our *English Name and Nation*, the *Printer* thought good to cause the same to bee translated into the *English Tongue*').⁹³ There is no reason to suggest, therefore, that any special relationship existed between Wolfe and Hakluyt or Hakluyt's associates.⁹⁴

warden and the under warden; the approval of at least one of the wardens was required to give the company's permission to print a new book. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), pp. 38, 43–4, 53–4. For press regulation in late sixteenth-century England and further references, see Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, pp. xxviii–xxix, 19, 77–8, 233, 440.⁸⁹ ODNB; DLB, vol. 170, pp. 326–9; Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 30–3; Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher', pp. 241–88; Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*; Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 30–8; Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), pp. 296–8; Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, pp. 234–7, 440–3; STC, vol. 3, pp. 185–6, 255; Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), pp. 5–18, 24–33. The beadle was a salaried servant of the Stationers' Company, but his policing, managerial and other duties did not preclude trading on his own account. Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, pp. 19, 52–3.

⁹⁰ Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher', pp. 263–4, 266.

⁹¹ Itemised by Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 141–4.

⁹² Marc'Antonio Pigafetta, *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino* (London: John Wolfe, 1585) (Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, Chapter Five); [Juan González de Mendoza], *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China*, trans. Robert Parke (London: John Wolfe for sale by Edward White, 1588) (Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, Chapter Ten); Duarte Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, 1597); Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y^e Easte & West Indies*, trans. William Phillip (London: [John Windet for] John Wolfe, [1598]). For Wolfe's travel-related publications, see also Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 34–43.

⁹³ Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into y^e Easte and West Indies*, A1^v (Wolfe's dedication to Dr Julius Caesar), A3^v (Phillip's address to the reader).

⁹⁴ Although Eleanor Rosenberg, 'Giacopo Castelvetro Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and His Patrons', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1943), p. 131, supposes Hakluyt and Wolfe were on 'cordial terms' by 1585.

Dedicatee

Philip Jones, the translator, dedicated *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* to Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596),⁹⁵ the great maritime hero, celebrated for his voyage round the world (1577–80) and as a senior commander of English naval forces in the Armada campaign in 1588.⁹⁶ Jones's reference to Drake's 'intended service' in the dedication's heading is to Drake's part in the launching of a counter-offensive against Spain following the defeat of the Armada. The debacle of the resulting amphibious expedition to Portugal and Spain in the summer of 1589, under Drake as naval and Sir John Norris as land commander, lead to Drake's fall from favour (it was not until late 1592 that the Queen again sent for him to discuss possible offensive overseas operations, and he did not receive another expeditionary command until 1595).⁹⁷ Jones, in January 1589, was therefore addressing Drake at the height of his success and on the eve of his next strike against Spanish power.⁹⁸

Despite the esteem in which Drake was widely held, he attracted relatively few other dedications, and these tended to be literary or celebratory pieces, several in verse, rather than substantial works. The earliest known is Nicholas Breton's *Discourse in Commendation of*

⁹⁵ ODNB. Full-length biographies of Drake include Julian S. Corbett, *Sir Francis Drake* (London: Macmillan, 1890); John Cummins, *Sir Francis Drake: The Lives of a Hero* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995); Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990).

⁹⁶ For Drake's reputation up to 1589, see D. B. Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries: An Essay by David Beers Quinn . . . with a Bibliographical Supplement of Works Relating to Drake at the John Carter Brown Library Compiled by Burton Van Name Edwards* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1996), pp. 3–20.

⁹⁷ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages: A Re-assessment of Their Place in Elizabethan Maritime Expansion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), pp. 135–47, 158–79; 370; Kenneth R. Andrews, ed., *The Last Voyage of Drake & Hawkins* (Cambridge: The University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1972); Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power*, new edition, vol. 2 (London: London: Longmans, Green, 1899), pp. 286–400; R. B. Wernham, ed., *The Expedition of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to Spain and Portugal, 1589* (Aldershot: Temple Smith for the Navy Records Society, 1988). The expedition to the West Indies that finally sailed in 1595 was a failure, resulting in the deaths of the joint commander, Sir John Hawkins, in November 1595, and Drake himself, at Porto Belo in January 1596. For the Drake legend and his posthumous reputation, see Michael J. B. Allen, 'Charles Fitzgeffrey's Commendatory Lamentation on the Death of Drake', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577–1580: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of Drake's Circumnavigation of the Earth*, ed. Norman J. W. Thrower (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 99–111; Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), pp. 78–83, 86–92, 95–102; W. T. Jewkes, 'Sir Francis Drake Revived: From Letters to Legend', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage*, ed. Thrower, pp. 112–20; Andrew Lambert, *The British Way of War: Julian Corbett and the Battle for a National Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), pp. 47–50, 55–60; Mark Netzloff, 'Sir Francis Drake's Ghost: Piracy, Cultural Memory and Spectral Nationhood', in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550–1650*, ed. Claire Jowitt (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 137–50; Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*, pp. 22–30; Bruce Wathen, *Sir Francis Drake: The Construction of a Hero* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009). See also Mariana Cecilia Velázquez, *Cultural Representations of Piracy in England, Spain, and the Caribbean: Travelers, Traders, and Traitors, 1570 to 1604* (New York: Routledge, 2023).

⁹⁸ This would rule out the suggestion (perhaps due to unawareness of the variant dedication dated January 1589) by Carey, *Continental Travel and Journeys beyond Europe*, p. 6 (n.18), that Hakluyt's encouragement of the dedication was possibly a contribution to efforts to rehabilitate Drake after the expedition's failure later in 1589. Quinn & Skelton, pp. xix–xx, discuss whether the January 1589 dating of the dedication might correspond to January 1590 if the year is taken as ending on 24 March as in old-style English reckoning, but conclude (rightly) that Jones can only be referring to Drake's imminent expedition in 1589 and that the year in the dedication, and in the book's imprint, is indeed 1589 as in modern reckoning. STC, vol. 1, p. xxxviii, notes that, while official publications considered the period between 1 January and 24 March as part of the previous year, 'most citizens, including authors and printers, were heavily influenced by the host of almanacs beginning the year with January; consequently for ordinary publications old-style dating should not be assumed without corroborative evidence'.

the Valiant as Vertuous Minded Gentleman, Maister Frauncis Drake, with a Reioysing of His Happy Adventures (1581),⁹⁹ which besides being dedicated to Drake concerned his exploits as well, was composed to mark Drake's return from his circumnavigation in September 1580, and, as he was styled 'Maister Frauncis Drake', was evidently completed prior to Drake's knighthood in April 1581.¹⁰⁰ The others, as identified by Franklin Williams,¹⁰¹ comprise William Goodyear's translation of Jean de Cartigny's *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight* (1581), dedicated to 'Sir Frauncis Drake, Knight' by the mathematical instrument maker and hydrographer Robert Norman;¹⁰² the translation of Castanheda's *First Booke of the Historie*

⁹⁹ Nicholas Breton, *A Discourse in Commendation of the Valiant as Vertuous Minded Gentleman, Maister Frauncis Drake, with a Reioysing of His Happy Adventures. Written by N. Breton. Gentleman* (London: John Charlewood, 1581). The only extant copy is thought to be that in the Kraus Drake collection, donated in 1980 to the Library of Congress (DA86.22.D7 B68; digital images of the entire book, including its binding, are currently [March 2026] available via the library's website). Hans P. Kraus, *Sir Francis Drake: A Pictorial Biography with an Historical Introduction by Lt. Commander David W. Waters & Richard Boulind and a Detailed Catalogue of the Author's Collection* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1970), pp. 20–1, 82, 197. Although it was entered in the Stationers' Register (Arber, vol. 2, p. 386), the content of the work itself was unknown to modern scholarship until the Kraus copy appeared on the market in 1965. Kraus is silent on its provenance, but, as recorded by *American Book-Prices Current 1965*, vol. 71 (New York: American Book-Prices Current, 1966), p. 115, he bought it in London at Sotheby's on 12 May 1965, lot 189 (£6000). Noted in the sale *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books . . . Including Nicholas Breton's Maister Frauncis Drake, 1581, the Only Copy Known . . . Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby & Co. . . . 24th May, 1965*, p. 56, is the early collation mark (inside the front cover) 'C & P' of Thomas Rawlinson (1681–1725), whose collection of roughly 200,000 volumes was dispersed in a series of sales in 1721–34 (see de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts*, pp. 45–6); the books in this section of the *Catalogue* were offered as 'The Property of R. Mewton, Esq.' (as headed on p. 55, commencing with lot 186). Besides the Library of Congress (Kraus) copy, STC 3646.5 gives, without further comment or explanation, 'Nutwell Court, Lymptstone, Devon', as a location. Nutwell Court was a Drake family property and Sir Francis Henry Drake (b. 1722, baptised 1723, d. 1794), fifth baronet, who undertook extensive alterations to the house, including converting the old chapel into a library, was an enthusiastic book collector. Lady Elliott-Drake, *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, vol. 2 (London: Smith, Elder, 1911), pp. 228, 282–5, 334–5. The library at Nutwell was auctioned in March 1883, and, although it was not named in the *Catalogue of an Important & Valuable Library Commenced by an Eminent Admiral in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and Continued by His Descendants . . . Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . 12th of March, 1883*, Nutwell Court as the source of these books was common knowledge, as reported, e.g., in *The Bibliographer*, vol. 4 (June–November 1883), pp. 15–17. Breton's *Discourse* is not in the 1883 sale *Catalogue*, which did, however, include some notable rarities, such as Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London: [Robert Robinson], 1588), lot 183 (£300, Quaritch). It has not been possible to establish whether there was a copy of Breton's *Discourse* at Nutwell Court, which was perhaps at some point sold independently of the 1883 auction and is conceivably the one finally acquired by Kraus in 1965, or whether another copy does indeed exist (and if so, where is it now, Nutwell Court having changed hands and no longer in the Drake family?). Nutwell Court as a location seems to be information coming from W. A. Jackson, one of the revisers of STC, who drew it to the attention of Quinn & Skelton, p. xxxi (n.7).

¹⁰⁰ Breton's *Discourse* is not an account of the circumnavigation itself. In noticing it, Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*, pp. 9–10, concludes, 'I was deeply disappointed that the first tract on Drake, which had at last emerged at Sotheby's in 1965, was empty, virtually, of all special historical content. At the same time it was clearly significant. Drake was worthy of commendation in print, even if only in general terms, as a hero who had done the impossible' (p. 10). For Breton (1554/5–c.1626), poet and prose writer, see *ODNB*.

¹⁰¹ Franklin B. Williams Jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962), p. 56.

¹⁰² Jean de Cartigny, *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight. Devised by Iohn Carthenie, a Frenchman: and Translated Out of French into English, by William Goodyear of South-hampton Merchant. A Worke Worthie of Reading, and Dedicated to the Right Worshipfull Sir Frauncis Drake, Knight* (London: Thomas East, 1581). For this, see Marco Nievergelt, 'Francis Drake: Merchant, Knight and Pilgrim', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1 (February 2009), pp. 53–70, who considers the 'tone and subject matter of the dedication . . . suggest that Norman knew Drake personally, presumably given the common interest in navigation' (p. 55). For Robert Norman (*fl.* 1560–84), see *ODNB*.

of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias (1582) by Nicholas Lichefield;¹⁰³ Henry Roberts's verse *Most Friendly Farewell, Given by a Welwiller to the Right Worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of Her Maiesties Navy* [1585];¹⁰⁴ the Danish Joannes Hercusanus's verse *Magnifico ac strenuo viro d. Francisco Draco Anglo equiti aurato* [1587];¹⁰⁵ Anthony Munday's translation of *The Honorable, Pleasant and Rare Conceited Historie of Palmendos* (1589);¹⁰⁶ George Peele's verse *Farewell Entituled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of Our English Forces: Sir Iohn Norris & Syr Frauncis Drake Knights, and All Theyr Brave and Resolute Followers* (1589);¹⁰⁷ the translation of Ramus's *The Art of Arithmeticke* (1592) by William Kempe, master of Plymouth grammar school;¹⁰⁸ and Roger Cotton's verse *A Spirituall Song: Conteyning an Historicall Discourse from the Infancie of the World, untill This Present Time* (1596).¹⁰⁹ Lastly, mention can be

¹⁰³ Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, Enterprised by the Portingales, in Their Daungerous Navigations, in the Time of King Don Iohn, the Second of That Name. Which historie Conteineth Much Varietie of Matter, Very Profitable for All Navigators, and Not Unpleasaut to the Readers. Set Foorth in the Portingale Language, by Hernan Lopes de Castaneda. And Now Translated into English, by N. L. Gentleman* (London: Thomas East, 1582). For Lichefield's translation, see Parker, pp. 116–17.

¹⁰⁴ Henry Roberts (Robarts), *A Most Friendly Farewell, Given by a Welwiller to the Right Worshipful Sir Frauncis Drake Knight, Generall of Her Maiesties Navy, Which He Appointed for This His Honorable Voiage, and the Rest of the Fleete Bound to the Southward, and to All the Gentlemen His Followers, and Captaines in This Exploite, Who Set Sale from Wolwich the xv. Day of Iuly, 1585. Wherin Is Briefely Touched His Perils Passed in His Last Daungerous Voiage, with an Incouragement to All His Saylers and Souldiers, to Be Forward in This Honourable Exploite. Published by Henry Robarts of London Citizin* (London: [Thomas East for] Walter Mantell and Thomas Law, [1585]). See Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*, pp. 11–12. For Roberts (*fl.* 1585–1617), author and mariner, see also *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁵ Joannes Hercusanus (*Danus*), *Magnifico ac strenuo viro d. Francisco Draco Anglo equiti aurato* (London: John Charlewood for Roberto Walley, [1587]). Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*, p. 17, gives extracts in modern English translation.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Munday, trans., *The Honorable, Pleasant and Rare Conceited Historie of Palmendos. Sonne to the Famous and Fortunate Prince Palmerin d'Oliva, Emperour of Constantinople and the Queene of Tharsus. Translated Out of French by A. M. One of the Messengers of Her Maiesties Chamber* (London: J[ohn] C[harlewood] for Simon Waterson, 1589). For this, see Leticia Álvarez-Recio, 'Anthony Munday's *Palmendos* (1589) in the Early Modern English Book Trade: Print and Reception', *Atlantis*, vol. 38, no 1 (June 2016), pp. 53–69; Leticia Álvarez-Recio, 'Sir Francis Drake: Conquest and Colonization in Anthony Munday's *Palmendos* (1589)', in *Iberian Chivalric Romance: Translations and Cultural Transmission in Early Modern England*, ed. Leticia Álvarez-Recio (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), pp. 51–73. Munday based his translation on the French version by François de Vernassal, probably with reference also to the (anonymous) original Spanish. For Munday (1560–1633), playwright and translator, see *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁷ George Peele, *A Farewell Entituled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of Our English Forces: Sir Iohn Norris & Syr Frauncis Drake Knights, and All Theyr Brave and Resolute Followers. Whereunto Is Annexed: A Tale of Troy* (London: J[ohn] C[harlewood], sold by William Wright, 1589). Jointly dedicated to Drake and Norris. For Peele (1556–96), poet and playwright, see *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁸ Petrus Ramus, *The Art of Arithmeticke in Whole Numbers and Fractions. In a More Readie and Easie Method then Hitherto Hath Bene Published. Written in Latin by P. Ramus: and Translated into English by William Kempe* (London: Richard Field for Robert Dexter, 1592). This includes a commendatory verse by 'A. W.' (unidentified, but recorded by Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses*, p. 191), hailing Drake's part in work to improve Plymouth's water supply ('The irkesome drought that Plimmouth felt | Full long all parts distrest | Industrious Drake by bringing home | Fresh waters hath redrest', A4^r). For Kempe (Kemp) (c.1560–1601), educationalist and apostle of Ramism, who would have been familiar with Drake as a prominent local figure in Plymouth civic life, see *ODNB*. For Ramus and Ramism, see n.82 above.

¹⁰⁹ Roger Cotton, *A Spirituall Song: Conteyning an Historicall Discourse from the Infancie of the World, untill This Present Time: Setting Downe the Treacherous Practises of the Wicked, against the Children of God: Describing Also the Markes and Overthrow of Antichrist, with a Thankesgiving to God for the Preservation of Her Maiestie, and of His Church. Drawen Out of the Holy Scriptures, by Roger Cotton* (London: Gabriel Simson and William White, 1596). For Cotton (c.1557–1602), merchant, poet, and associate of the controversial divine, Hugh Broughton, see *ODNB*, which describes *A Spirituall Song* as an 'ambitious poem, in unusual five-line stanzas', accompanied by 'various shorter poems of an apocalyptically militant protestant

made of the verse in commendation of Drake in David Gwyn's *Certaine English Verses Penned by David Gwyn, Who for the Space of Eleven Yeeres and Ten Moneths Was in Most Grievous Servitude in the Gallies under the King of Spaine* (1588),¹¹⁰ and the commendatory verse by Drake himself in Sir George Peckham's *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: By That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* (1583).¹¹¹

In his dedication Jones tells Drake that although his 'propension was alwaies to indevor somthing for the inlargeme[n]t of your name and honour', he was 'motioned to reme[m]ber' *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* to him 'by my very good and learned friend, M. Richard Hackluit, a man of incredible devotion towarde your selfe' (A3^v), implying, perhaps, that originally he did not have sufficient courage to dedicate it to Drake, but Hakluyt, a more senior figure with whom Drake was already familiar, emboldened him to do so, and he also alludes to Hakluyt's steady progress in compiling the *Principall Navigations*.¹¹² Hakluyt himself did not dedicate any of his own works to Drake, although he was anxious to obtain material on Drake's voyages, especially the circumnavigation of 1577–80,¹¹³ and in 1582 he invoked Drake's support in urging the establishment of a lectureship in navigation in England:

For whiche cause I have dealt with the right worshipfull sir Frances Drake, that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to him selfe and benefite to his countrey, to bee at the cost to erecte such a lecture: Whereunto in most bountifull maner at the verie first he answered, that he liked so well of the motion but in fine he would not undertake the lecture, unlesse he might have fourtie pounce a yeere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howbeit the worthie and good Knight remaineth still constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde.¹¹⁴

Hakluyt referred again to his 'speech' with Drake about the matter in his despatch to Walsingham in April 1584,¹¹⁵ but nothing came of it in Drake's lifetime.¹¹⁶ Despite the

nature'. For Broughton and Hakluyt, see Anthony Payne, *What Do We Know about Richard Hakluyt?* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2024), pp. 21–2.

¹¹⁰ David Gwyn, *Certaine English Verses Penned by David Gwyn, Who for the Space of Eleven Yeeres and Ten Moneths Was in Most Grievous Servitude in the Gallies under the King of Spaine, and Nowe Lately by the Wonderfull Providence of God, Delivered from Captivittie, to the Overthrow of Many of the Spaniards, and the Great Reioycing of All True Hearted English Men. Presented to the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie in the Parke at Saint Iames on Sunday the xviii. of August 1588* (London: Richard Hudson, [1588]). For Gwyn (*fl.* 1588–1602), poet, mariner (and supposed pirate), see *ODNB*.

¹¹¹ [Sir George Peckham], *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: By That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein Is Also Breefely Sette Downe, Her Highnesse Lawfull Tytle Thereunto, and the Great and Manifold Commodities, That Is Likely to Grow Thereby, to the Whole Realme in Generall, and to the Adventurers in Particular. Together with the Easines and Shortnes of the Voyage. Seene and Allowed* (London: J[ohn] C[harlewood] for John Hinde, 1583). Drake's 'words show that he here expressed his own outlook: engage in some striking action (such as the circumnavigation) and return with gold, and your personal fame is assured'. Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*, p. 13. For Peckham's tract, which was dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, see Parker, pp. 112–14; Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, pp. 76, 199.

¹¹² See n.147 below.

¹¹³ PN, *4^{r-v}; D. B. Quinn, 'Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage*, ed. Thrower, pp. 33–6.

¹¹⁴ [Richard Hakluyt], *Divers Voyages* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1582), ¶3^{r-v} (Hakluyt's dedication to Philip Sidney); Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, p. 124.

¹¹⁵ See n.85 above.

immense booty Drake accumulated in the course of his various voyages, it yielded little or nothing of substance in terms of patronage, literary or otherwise.¹¹⁷

Paratexts

Source: BL 1103.e.7

In roman and italic, as followed here, unless otherwise noted.

P1. Dedication to Sir Francis Drake by the translator, Philip Jones, A2^r–3^v.

Original text in italic with occasional roman, here reversed to roman with occasional italic; original side-notes in roman as here; heading as copied below.

Running title: ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’.

Catchwords: A2^r ‘&’; A2^v ‘but’; A3^r ‘rior?’

[A2^r]

[head-piece]

To the most valiant, and renowned Knight,
Sir Francis Drake, the ornament of his Country,
the terror of the enimie, the Achilles of this age,¹¹⁸
P. I. wisheth, in al honorable actions, the
continuance of Gods former blessings, and
in his nowe pretended seruice
the best successe.¹¹⁹

Sir, my hap was of late, ouerlooking a large Librarie, to light upon a small, but sweete booke of Method, for men intending their profite and honor by the experience of the world, and accesse to externe and remote parts, by that meanes to inrole themselves in the Cataloge of *Homer* his^{120*} seers¹²¹ of many Regions,¹²² and of the manners of many Nations, as

¹¹⁶ The need for professional navigational instruction on a permanent basis was a constant refrain of Hakluyt’s over many years. His various written references (1582–1614) to it are collected and printed in David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1958), pp. 542–6, 553–8. Hakluyt’s hopes were ambitious, but he was not alone in seeing the need for such instruction. Notable in this context are, e.g., the lectures on the mathematical sciences (including navigation) given for a while in London by Thomas Hood under the auspices of the merchant Thomas Smith (Smythe). Thomas Hood, *A Copie of the Speache: Made by the Mathematicall Lecturer, unto the Worshipfull Companye Present. At the House of the Worshipfull M. Thomas Smith, Dwelling in Gracious Street: the 4. of November, 1588* (London: Edward Allde, [1588]); Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, pp. 196–205; Waters, *Art of Navigation*, pp. 185–7.

¹¹⁷ For Drake’s wealth, his ready bestowal of rich gifts to the Queen and influential figures at court, yet his reputed tight-fistedness towards his crewmen, see Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 66, 214–19, 327–8.

¹¹⁸ Achilles, the greatest Greek hero of the Trojan War, renowned for his martial prowess. *OCD*.

¹¹⁹ In BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth it is:

To the most valiant, and renowned Knight,
Sir Francis Drake, the ornament of his Country,
the terror of the enimie, the Achilles of this age,
P. I. wisheth, in al his honorable actions,
the continuance of Gods former blessings,
and in his now intended seruice
the best successe.

The ‘intended seruice’ refers to Drake’s part in the imminent counter-offensive against Spain. See n.97 above.

^{120*} *side-note*: “πολοτροποι”, i.e., polotropoi, a variant of polytropoi, the plural of polytropos, the Homeric epithet applied to Odysseus (Ulysses) in the first line of the *Odyssey*. Its meaning is ambiguous, but in the

*Vlisses*¹²³ was,¹²⁴ and your selfe more then *Vlisses*.¹²⁵ This Methode, was composed by one M. *Albertus Meier*, at the command, direction, and charge of the honorable *Henry Kanson*,¹²⁶ now lord of *Bredenberge*,¹²⁷ Counsailler and deputie to Christiner,¹²⁸ the young King of *Denmark*¹²⁹ in his Dukedoms of *Sleswike*, *Holst*, *Stormare*, and *Dithmarsen*,¹³⁰ a man of singular wisdome, learning, and zeale, both to his countrie, and the vtilitie and furtherance of vertuous minds in generall.¹³¹

My resolution was at the first to accommodate the same to my priuate vse, and therby to square my selfe fit for an occasion, whensoever the pleasure of God, conuenient time, and good company (which I euermore wished) should draw me to trauell: But considering that

present context, describing Homer's 'seers of many Regions', the literal 'much-travelled' seems most apt. With thanks to Barbara Scalvini for guidance on this point. See also W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, second edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), pp. 3, 99.

¹²¹ Here in the primary sense of the word 'seer' (a 'person who sees something, or who can see', *OED*), rather than a prophet or a person having supernatural insight into the future (although there are many instances of the latter in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*).

¹²² Homer, *Iliad*, 2.494–877, catalogues the various contingents that made up the Greek forces at Troy, describing the ships, their commanders, and where they had come from in geographical order, followed by details of the opposing Trojans and their allies. Homer, *Iliad Books 1–12 with an English Translation by A. T. Murray Revised by William F. Wyatt* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999) (LCL), pp. 96–127.

¹²³ Ulysses, or Odysseus, one of the Greek heroes in the Trojan War, whose subsequent voyaging and marvellous adventures were famously recounted in Homer's *Odyssey*. *OCD*.

¹²⁴ Echoing Homer, *Odyssey*, 1.3. Homer, *Odyssey Books 1–12 with an English Translation by A. T. Murray Revised by George E. Dimock* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995) (LCL), pp. 12–13. 'All travellers do gladly report great prayse of Ulysses, | For that he knew many mens manners, and saw many Cities' in Thomas Watson's English rendering, as quoted by Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Day, 1570), f. 24^r (H4^r). In the sixteenth century Ulysses was often revered as a worthy example of virtuous living, blending the arts of war and the liberal arts, and exhibiting prudence and fortitude in his wanderings. W. B. Stanford, 'Studies in the Characterization of Ulysses.—VI. Ulysses Restored to Favour in Sixteenth-Century England', *Hermathena*, no. 79 (May 1952), pp. 34–46; Stanford, *Ulysses Theme*, pp. 183–4, 298–303. See also n.125 below.

¹²⁵ Breton's *Discourse* (see n.99 above) similarly likens Drake to Ulysses: 'Ulysses was thought a rare man . . . because he had travayled into many Countries, seene many fayre Citties, & was acquainted with many mens manners. Our Countrye man hath gone rounde about the whole world, then thinke what strau[n]ge Lands he hath beene in, & what nu[m]bers of Citties, Townes & Villages he hath seene. How many su[n]dry sorts of people he hath had to doo withall . . .' (A5^v–6^r).

¹²⁶ i.e., Heinrich Rantzau, discussed above under Authorship and Sources. BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth are: *Ranzou*

¹²⁷ Breitenburg, the family estate at Itzhoe, north-west of Hamburg, which Heinrich Rantzau 'lavishly refurnished with art and architectural extensions, not least with a splendid library'. Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, p. 10.

¹²⁸ BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth are: Christiern.

¹²⁹ The ten-year old Christian IV of Denmark (d. 1648) had succeeded his father, Frederik II, in 1588. A regency governed in Christian's name until he came of age in 1596. Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause*, pp. 298–9, 315–16.

¹³⁰ Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn, and Dithmarshen. The names of these territories were included in the formal style of the Danish monarch, but they were personal to the king and the dynastic family, rather than part of the sovereign kingdom of Denmark (Holstein was actually a fief of the Holy Roman Empire). Rantzau was the king's governor or viceroy (*Statthalter*) in the region, known as the 'Duchies'. Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark*, pp. 112–14, 140, 144–5; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark, 1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 3, 5, 46–8; Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), pp. 219–20; Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, pp. 9–10.

¹³¹ 'Especially during the reign of Frederik II (1559–1588) he had a central position as an adviser to the King, not least on foreign affairs. To the Danish government Rantzau was an important source of information from abroad. For this his widespread network of correspondents throughout Europe was of paramount importance . . . and would keep him up to date on political developments throughout Europe'. Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau*, p. 10. See also Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause*, p. 61.

excelle[n]t Moral of *Tullie*, in his golden Offices^{132*} deriued from the Stoikes: *Homines hominu[m] causa esse generatos, vt ipsi inter se alii aliis prodesse posse[n]t*, [A2^v] & *communes vtilitates in medium afferre*: that men are borne for men, one to do for another, and to communicate al common helps with those that want them:¹³³ & withall, seeing how coherent the argument hereof is, with the occurents of this yeare, not so myraculous to the Astronomer,¹³⁴ as partiuriuent to a.[II] me[n] of spirit, wherein for military & marine matters, as expeditions, plantings, discoveries, & voyages of the largest compasse, there is growne so vniuersall a consent and disposition in this triumphant kingdome, that all Christianitie stands now at the gaze, attending from vs some notable effect & consequence;¹³⁵ for these respects, I have deemed it a better duety both towards nature & my countrie, by reducing the same into our vulgar language, and so committing it to the presse, to benefite many the[n] one, more then my self only, as knowing, that (according to the "^{136*} prince of Philosophers)¹³⁷ a good and profitable thing, the more common it is, the better it is.¹³⁸ And whether this methode may iustly be receiued into the number of things of that opinion, yea or no: I appeale to no other to iudge tha[n] to your self: a iudge in this matter so sufficient, as that this Realme, nay many realmes (I speake that which is impude[n]cy to deny) cannot produce an equal. There is no man, although but of meane and ordinary insight in the state of things, that is ignorant of the great necessity and commoditie of Methods, and directions to men of all qualities:

^{132*} *side-note*: ‘Officiorum I. titul. de Iustit.’, i.e., the discussion of justice in bk 1 of *De officiis* by Marcus Tullius Cicero (hence ‘Tullie’ or Tully).

¹³³ Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.22. Cicero, *De officiis with an English Translation by Walter Miller* (London: William Heinemann, 1913) (LCL), pp. 22–3. This portion of Cicero’s text begins ‘ut placet Stoicis’, ‘as the Stoics hold’.

¹³⁴ Alluding to the predictions associated with the astronomer Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller) (1436–76) that 1588 would be the climacteric year in the history of the world, marked by a solar eclipse, two total lunar eclipses, and the conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars in the moon’s own house. Widely circulated, these were feared to portend awful catastrophes and the diminishing of empires. In English eyes, and in reassuring retrospect after the defeat of the Armada in 1588, it could now be said that these dire prophecies had been allotted to Spain. See Garrett Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1959), pp. 159–68, 306; Nicholas Popper with Anthony Grafton, ‘Generative Genealogies, Reading Practices and the Transformation of Late Renaissance Mathematics’, in *Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading*, ed. Grafton, Popper & Sherman, pp. 178–80; Walter B. Stone, ‘Shakespeare and the Sad Augurs’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 52, no. 4 (October 1953), pp. 457–79. For references by early historians to the prophecies in relation to the Armada, see, e.g., William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, ad annum salutis M.D.LXXXIX* (London: William Stansby for Simon Waterson, 1615), p. 476 (Ppp2^v); Emanuel van Meteren, in *PNI*, p. 591 (Ddd2^v).

¹³⁵ For the celebration of English success, including among Protestants on the Continent, and discussions during the final months of 1588 for a counter-offensive against Spain, see Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause*, pp. 124–6; Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *Armada: The Spanish Enterprise and England’s Deliverance in 1588* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), pp. 435–45. R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588–1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 6–21. The most recent of the ‘voyages of the largest compasse’ was the circumnavigation (intended to emulate Drake’s of 1577–80) of Thomas Cavendish, which had returned to great rejoicing in September 1588, bringing much booty from Spanish shipping and information on Spain’s transpacific trade with China via the Philippines. See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Bibliography 1580–1588*, pp. 444, 448–9; Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 40–5.

^{136*} *side-note*: “Aristoteles bonum quo communiis, eo melius.”

¹³⁷ i.e., Aristotle.

¹³⁸ A maxim in early modern England, typically referred back to Aristotle, although the general principle is his (expressed in the *Ethics*), rather than the saying itself. See Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics with an English Translation by H. Rackham* (London: William Heinemann, 1926) (LCL), p. 7 (1.2.8 [1094b]); Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 135; Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), p. 657 (T142).

insomuch, that whosoeuer vndertaketh any course or profession without it, is like to the foolish youth, that would needs prooue a Latinist without his Grammer, or the mad Architect, which went about to set up a house without his rule and compasse, both whose beginnings were confused, and their conclusions ridiculous.

I haue heard speech of a wise Gentleman of *Naples*, who sometime for a triall dismissed his son, and gaue him libertie to trauell to certaine other Citties, and territories of *Italy* [A3^r] but without instructions, and vpon his returne, he made report that he had seene men, women, wals, houses, woods, and medowes, but of the state, manners, lawes, gouernement and natures of the people, his simple wit could make no reasonable answere. Many of our owne Nation haue beene taken tardy and tripping in this grosnesse:¹³⁹ as diuers Gentlemen verie Studious in cases of pollicie, and nauigation, by questions and examinations haue found. In whom the ancient complaint of the Poet hath beene too truely and fully verified.¹⁴⁰

Caelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt, Some by passing the seas, change ayres but not mindes,¹⁴¹ returning with brains nothing bettered, & spirits nothing quickened with the varieties of the world. I doubt not, but that if our men will vouchsafe the reading, portage, and practise of this pamphlet of notes, (a soueraigne Antidotum, or preseruative against the poyson of that disease) the thicke mistes of ignorance, and harde conception will soone be scattered, and the same conuerted into a quicke sight, and illumination of the senses, so that the traeller (although in that course a Nouice) after his rangings and peregrinations, shall retyre him selfe a man of skill, and bring more to his home from ouer-seas, than the servant did to his Maister from *Paules crosse*,¹⁴² which per adventure was a hat and a cloke, but no profite by doctrine.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ In quoting this passage, W. R. Streitberger, *Edmond Tyllney Master of the Revels and Censor of Plays: A Descriptive Index to His Diplomatic Manual on Europe* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), p. 27, notes Sir Philip Sidney's regret, expressed in giving travel advice to his brother, Robert Sidney, that his own travels had been a wasted opportunity, but he trusted that Robert, during his travels, would methodically and purposefully gather information useful to his country. 'I knowe the only experience I have gotten is to finde howe much I might haue learned, and howe much indeed I haue myssed for want of havinge directed my course to the right endes and by the right meanes But I presume so well of you, that thoughe a great number of us never thought in our selves why we wente . . . your purpose is . . . to furnishe your selfe with the knowledge of suche thynges as may be serviceable to your Country . . . enforminge your mynde with those thinges, which are moste notable in those places you come to . . .'. Sir Philip Sidney, *The Correspondence*, ed. Roger Kuin, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 878–9.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps alluding to Horace, *Epistulae*, 1.2.18–24, which, echoing the opening lines of Homer's *Odyssey*, points to 'an instructive pattern in Ulysses . . . who looked with discerning eyes upon the cities and manners of many men . . .'. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*, revised reprint (London: William Heinemann, 1929) (LCL), pp. 262–5. Cf. Philip Sidney's advice to Robert Sidney to travel with 'the eye of Ulysses'. Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, vol. 2, p. 879.

¹⁴¹ Horace, *Epistulae*, 1.11.27. Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica with an English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*, pp. 324–5.

¹⁴² Paul's Cross, a pulpit standing in the precincts of St Paul's Cathedral, from which sermons, often by eminent preachers, were regularly delivered on Sundays to a congregation gathered in the open air, and a flourishing part of sixteenth-century London's public religious culture. Roze Hentschell, *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Spatial Practices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 68–103; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 1–31.

¹⁴³ 'Apart from Paul's Cross itself, perhaps, the most striking feature of the Cross Yard was its large and varied collection of bookshops. There were bookshops in other parts of the precinct But during the second half of the sixteenth century, Paul's Cross Churchyard became the unrivalled centre of retail bookselling in London, and consequently in England'. Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), p. 5 (with a map facing p. 3). Besides the booksellers' shops there were many others in the general vicinity of St Paul's and, after the Reformation, shopping 'became one of the primary activities there'. Hentschell, *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct*, p. 105. So the servant in the story could easily have

For the patronage of this discourse, as it is the custome, or rather by custome the habite in men of industry, to co[m]mende their labours to persons of countenance and iudgement, and for the most part to such as by their owne experience are able to speake of that argument, which the worke presented to the[m] doth principally prosecute, if either I regarde your selfe, or your present busines, I can not sort & single out a man more for to who[m] the same may be offered. The matter is respectiue to trauell, and who in that cause this day liuing is your supe- [A3^v] rior? And by reason of the peerelesnesse, who in the appurtenances, & circumstances thereof, can giue a sounder iudgment, or better censure? And as for the men of seruice that are at this instant to be employed under your charge and gouernement what precepts are more convenient for their negotiation and vse? So that although it may seeme a fault & error, that I (as yet unknowen) have in this sort pressed upon your selfe: yet the loue I beare by duty to my cou[n]trie, the care I carrie (according to my standing) to further my countrimen, & the sincere affection (which abounds in me) towards your intended attempt (which the Lord of Hostes blesse and prosper) may iustly excuse me, and mooue you to accept this poore paynes. I confesse, that although my propension was alwaies to indeuor somthing for the inlargeme[n]t of your name and honour, hauing so well deserued of this commonwealth, and of euery particular therof, yet I was motioned¹⁴⁴ to reme[m]ber your selfe in the impressio[n] of this Index,¹⁴⁵ by my very good and learned friend, M. *Richard Hackluit*, a man of incredible deuotion towarde your selfe,¹⁴⁶ and of speciall carefulnesse for the good of our Nation: as the world inioying the benefit of some of his trauels can give testimonie, & is possible to giue better, if that rare & excellent worke which he now plyeth, once come to publike view.¹⁴⁷ In the mean time I record his diligence, and mine owne petition to the grand Captaine, and commander of all armies,¹⁴⁸ which are¹⁴⁹ feruent and incessant, for the happy egresse & victorious successe of the expedition present: that the issue thereof may be, his glorie, the propagation of the truth, the confusion of the enimie, the terror of Antichrist,¹⁵⁰ the comfort of the Church, the honour of our Prince, the renowne of our kingdome, and the immortality of your owne name.¹⁵¹

At your deuotion and seruice,

Philip Iones.

brought back 'a hat and a cloke' having been diverted by the attractions of shopping, rather than studiously attending an edifying sermon.

¹⁴⁴ In the sense of 'prompted, impelled, or moved'. *OED*.

¹⁴⁵ BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth are: Method

¹⁴⁶ Despite Hakluyt's anxiety to obtain material on Drake's voyages, their relationship is unlikely to have been close and Hakluyt's only documented direct dealings with Drake in person seem to be those concerning Drake's possible sponsorship of a lectureship in navigation. See nn.85, 114 above.

¹⁴⁷ Referring to Hakluyt's work on the *Principall Navigations*, which did not appear until after 17 November 1589 (the date of its dedication). See Quinn & Skelton, pp. xix–xxiii.

¹⁴⁸ i.e., the 'Lord of Hosts', or 'Almighty God', who would lead His armies against His people's enemies, and, more widely, signalling God's supremacy over the destinies of men. See *ODCC*.

¹⁴⁹ BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth are: is

¹⁵⁰ The chief of the enemies of Christ, typically identified by Protestants with the papacy and its confederate, Spain. Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 2–15; *ODCC*. In 1587, Drake, for instance, assured Walsingham that his fleet would stand as one 'against Antichrist and his members', Hakluyt in 1584 referred to Spain as 'the supporter of the greate Ante-chryste of Rome', and in 1589 George Peele (see n.107 above) urged Drake and Norris even on to 'loftie Rome, | There to deface the pryde of Antechrist, | And pull his Paper Walles and popery downe'. Julian S. Corbett, ed., *Papers Relating to the Navy during the Spanish War 1585–1587* ([London:] Navy Records Society, 1898), p. 102; Peele, *Farewell*, p. 6 (A3^v); Quinn & Quinn, eds, *PD*, p. 116. See also Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 56–8.

¹⁵¹ BL 10002.c.36 and Lambeth are dated here: London the 24. of Ianuarie, 1589.

P2. Verse addressed to Sir Francis Drake by Philip Jones, A4^r.

[head-piece]

Ad eundem clarissimum, & fortunatissimum Equitem, D. Franciscum Dracum, eiusdem Philippi Iones, de conscripto exercitu carmen conscendens.

NVncage, victricis Ductor fortissime classis,
Periuri tremor Hispani, tutela tuorum,
Hactenus indute exuuias, Regisque superbi,
Primitias, manibusque arrepte insignia belli:
Hinc vltra infandi circum scandenda Tyranni
Mœnia pressa iugo tollendaque colla cruento,
Pulsus, & antiquas Rex restituendus ad oras.
Non hoc humanis opibus, non arte Magistra,
Proueniet factum, neque te tua dextera seruat,
Maior agit Deus, atque opus ad mirabile mittit,
Mittentique cohors ipsi tua militet omnis,
Militet & patriæ, patriæque parentis honori
Elizabeth: faciles tum velis auguror Euros,
Præsentemque Deum: cursum Deus atque recursum
Tum dabit optatum, reduci que extendet amoris
Amplexus natale solum, Elizabetha triumphum:
Nec nostrum interea noctes sic stertere possit
Ingenium, neque tam tranquilla silentia Musæ,
Ducere, quin vestra extemplò soluetur in arma,
Resque tuas Epico cantabit carmine gestas.
Perge igitur fælix, tua iustam tela ministrent
Materiem scripti; & quamuis me fata volentem
Dura vetant oculis tuta cernere facta, relictis
Insequar ipse tamen votis, pro teque, tuisque
Vt benè qui victor de victis hostibus exis
Bis benè post victor de victis vrbibus adsis.

P3. Commendatory verse by T. H.,¹⁵² A4^v.

[head-piece]

*Ad P. I. huius opellæ μεταφράσην T. H.
Medicinæ Doctoris Hexasticon.*

*Exiguum precio, nummisque (Philippe) volumen,
Imprimis, at fructu grandius illud erit.
Instruit ad bellum veluti armatura paratos,
Sic proficiscentes hæc πανοπλία tua.
Et proficiscenti Comitem hunc commendo Libellum,
Lautior esse potest, nescio an vtilior.*

¹⁵² Recorded but not identified by Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses*, p. 84.

Peregrinationes nostræ futuræ nobis erunt longè gratiores, si vnà cum itineribus animaduertamus, & annotemus in chartis, si quid obseruatione dignum occurrerit, non quod speremus posse a nobis ex locis visis annotari quod non omnibus est iam notum, sed quidlibet potius commentari, quàm in toto itinere esse otiosi: tum quòd hac ratione, quæ semèl vidimus, securius memoriæ mandentur, & cum Regiones illas cessaueremus perlustrare, iuuabit easdem quotiescúnque libuerit nobiscum Domi, atq[ue] adeo sine itineris molestia recognoscere.

In English thus.

IF in our peregrinations and trauels, we shal obserue and note in our tables, or papers those things which doo occurre and seeme worthie of regard, we shall make our iournies and voyages in great measure, pleasant and delectable vnto vs: not thinking that our diligence can search & mark any thing in any place, which other men before vs haue not seene, but to discourse and recorde any thing, rather then to passe the way, and spend the time in idlenesse: and with all by this meanes, this commoditie is reaped, that whatsoeuer the eye seeth, is the easier and the better remembred, if it be once written. And when the time commeth, that we make an ende of our trauels, and personall view of forren parts, it will bee a singular pleasure vnto vs, whensoever we are so disposed to recognize, and recount those things which we haue seene, quietlie & in our chambers, without any trouble of iournie, or toile of bodie.

FINIS.

P7. Philip Jones's verse to the reader, D4^f (centred on page).

[ornament]

Philippus Iones docto, & candido
Lectori Salutem.

Quiquid in hoc vitii est (vt sunt vitosa) libello,
Ille luat, mendax qui mihi cudit opus.
Sin culpasse die, brevioráq[ue] tempora fas est,
Illa luant, nostrum fecimus officium.

[ornament]

¹⁵⁴ Loosely rendered from Abraham Ortelius and Johannes Vivianus, *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliaë Belgicaë partes, Abrahami Ortelii et Ioannis Viviani. Ad Gerardum Mercatorem, cosmographum* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1584), p. 3 (A2^f). For this narrative of the authors' tour through parts of 'Belgian Gaul' in 1575, see Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, pp. 49–63 (with an abridged English translation of the *Itinerarium* as appendix 3, pp. 227–36); Klaus Schmidt-Ott, 'The *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliaë Belgicaë partes* by Abraham Ortelius and Johannes Vivianus', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of His Death 1598–1998*, ed. Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt and Peter Meurer ('t Goy-Houten: Hes, 1998), pp. 363–77. The *Itinerarium*'s description of the tomb of Sir John Mandeville (pp. 15–16; A8^{f-v}) was included by Hakluyt in *PN*, p. 24 (B6^v, 'The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandevil, in the citie of Leege [Liège], spoken of by Ortelius, in his booke called Itinerarium Belgiaë'). For Ortelius, see also n.61 above.